

Kadar Death Penalty For Strikers

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Negroes Demand Eisenhower Act Now

CP Convention Paves Way For Discussion of Program

By Harry Ring

The most significant feature of the recently concluded convention of the Communist Party is the fact that the delegates, by a majority of two to one, blocked the efforts of party Chairman William Z. Foster to force the organization back into its pre-20th Congress bureaucratic straightjacket. In taking this stand the delegates rejected the declared views of the bureaucrats in the Kremlin. With this act of defiance a 30-year period of political subservience to the Soviet bureaucracy is now drawing to a close.

This action of the convention was not sufficient to resolve the

political crisis which has wracked the party since the 20th Congress, but it greatly facilitates the possibility for the party membership to come to grips with the political issues causing the crisis.

DENNIS IN BETWEEN

The convention revealed a strong desire on the part of the delegates to avert a split in the party. But within that framework a majority wanted to end the political domination of the Moscow hierarchy and to prevent re-establishment of a regime of bureaucratic "monolithic unity" within the party. The convention

further demonstrated that no part of the top leadership enjoys the full confidence of the ranks.

For almost a year a fierce factional struggle for control of the party has gone on between the Foster and Gates wings of the leadership, with Dennis attempting to play a balance-of-power role between them. In the election of the 20 members-at-large to the national committee, the Foster group won the smallest number of places on the committee. The Gates forces won a larger number but did not get a majority.

Almost half of those elected have not publicly committed themselves to definitive support of either group but can be best described as more "anti-Foster" than "pro-Gates." While the failure of either wing to capture control permits Dennis to continue playing the middle of the road, there is no visible evidence of a crystallized Dennis "tendency" in either the leadership or the ranks.

DIDN'T WORK THIS TIME

The Stalinist-type efforts to influence the convention's outcome from abroad undoubtedly helped tip the scales against Foster. In 1945 a Moscow-inspired letter from French CP leader Duclos was sufficient to bring about the dumping of party leader Earl Browder and an abrupt shift in party line. But the Duclos letter to this convention, branding the views of the Gates group as a "dangerous departure" from Marxism-Leninism failed to accomplish the same result. Instead, the convention voted two to one in favor of the Gates stand on the issue as presented by Max Weiss, reporting for 14 of the 26-man resolutions committee.

Hitting at the Duclos letter, Weiss declared: "We cannot agree with any position which implies that some other party will interpret for us what the principles of Marxism-Leninism are while all that we are called upon to do is apply as creatively as we can their interpretation."

It is necessary, Weiss continued, "to declare clearly, unmistakably and publicly that it is our party which must interpret these principles as best we can, that no other party in the international Communist movement, no matter in what esteem we hold it, should be assumed to have any authoritative, ex cathedra right to interpret these principles for us."

MEMBERSHIP'S DESIRE

In adopting the report, the convention rejected Foster's view that it should welcome the "sage" (Continued on page 2)

Key Steel Districts Vote Against McDonald's Rule

By Fred Halstead

FEB. 19—The bureaucracy in the powerful United Steelworkers of America headed by David J. McDonald received a crushing blow from the rank and file steelworkers in the union election, Feb. 12. Well over one-third of the votes for the office of international president of the union went to the candidate of the Dues Protest Committee, Donald Rarick. A majority of the votes were cast for Rarick in several major steel centers including two Pittsburgh districts.

The vote for McDonald's opponent, a 37-year-old grievance committeeman at the United States Steel Irvin Works near Pittsburgh who was unknown outside his own Local 2227 until the dues-protest began last year, was greater than had been expected by even the staunchest supporters of the protest movement.

OFFICIALS BACK M'DONALD.

Total unofficial returns reported in Pittsburgh as of Feb. 18 gave McDonald 163,000 votes to Rarick's 84,000. The official victor will be McDonald who will retain his post, but the real victors are the rank-and-file who turned out a huge ground-swell vote in opposition to the McDonald machine in the first election for president in the history of the steelworkers union.

The large vote for the Dues Protest candidates in the major steel centers is even more impressive considering the fact that practically all the bureaucrats in the local unions and all the incumbent district directors lined up solidly behind McDonald. This gave the machine complete con-

trol of the election machinery itself as well as the local and international press and treasuries. The Big Business press, which has long hailed McDonald as a (Continued on page 4)



Members of two Pittsburgh Steelworkers Locals last fall turned thumbs down on David J. McDonald's demand for a dues increase. McDonald, the steel union's President has to scrape by on an income of only \$50,000 a year.

Southern Bomb Victims



Mrs. Otis Flowers of Birmingham, Ala., holds up injured hand of her 12-year-old son Arthur for photographers. The Flowers' home in a primarily white section of the city was bombed New Year's Eve by racists. All three were at home when the bomb struck.

A New Witch-Hunt Attack on the CP

An Editorial

Senator James Eastland (D. — Miss.), head of the Internal Security Subcommittee, announced through counsel, Robert Morris, the launching of a public hearing Feb. 20 on the proceedings of the Communist Party Convention. Eastland says he wants to know if the Communist Party is "independent" from Moscow.

If a political party, a labor organization, a fraternal group or any other association doesn't have the right to hold a closed convention without the prying nose of Eastland butting into the proceedings, what democratic rights are left in this country?

Eastland's committee has subpoenaed Communist Party leader Eugene Dennis to testify on convention proceedings and announced in addition that one of the impartial civil liberty observers who had been invited to sit in on the Convention, Carl Rachlin of the New York American Civil Liberties Union, would be the first witness.

Any political party or any other organization has a right to confine its proceedings to members without the surveillance of self-appointed thought-control cops or anyone else. This right becomes a mockery if witch-hunting legislative "investigators" are going to be allowed to grill the participants of a private meeting.

We protest this outrage against civil liberties, Senator Eastland! Keep your hands off!

ILA Nears Settlement In NY Strike

By James O'Hara

NEW YORK, FEB. 18—Leaders of the Independent International Longshoremen's Association have reached a tentative agreement with the New York Shippers' Association for settlement of the dockers' strike on the eastern seaboard.

The proposed settlement has to be first ratified by the membership of the ILA. Then it would be used as a basis for contract settlements by other longshore locals up and down the eastern seaboard. It would further set the pattern for the contracts of allied waterfront crafts such as the checkers, dock carpenters, etc. Then the ILA's strike would be officially over.

In the proposed settlement the longshoremen have won a 32-cent an hour increase to be split into three installments. They would receive an immediate 18-cent an hour raise, seven cents an hour more next year and another seven cents the following year. For the first time they have won paid holidays. They have secured two paid holidays for this year, one more for the second year and an additional one for the third year of the contract.

STRIKE RENEWED

The property contract also provides additional welfare contributions and increased vacation allowance. For dockers on steady gangs, who have worked fairly regularly during the past five years, it can mean a three-weeks vacation. Others would get proportionally less.

This contract was offered after a five-day walkout of all longshoremen from Maine to Virginia. The old contract had expired Sept. 30, and after fruitless negotiations the union had resorted to strike only to be slapped down with a Taft-Hartley injunction. Government intervention did not bring settlement of the dispute until five days ago.

It became obvious then that the shippers had to make some real concessions. Despite all the moral and material help that they could rely on in a battle against a union that stood alone—an outlaw from the official labor movement—they faced an impressive and unbroken solidarity. The ILA has many enemies and its every soft spot was probed. But to the frustration of the shippers and the ILA's other enemies, the loyalty of the rank and file dockers to his organization constitutes a formidable obstacle. The union's strength is not so much in any illusions that the dockers have about the ILA leadership, but

(Continued on page 4)

March on Washington Promised if Southern Terror Is Not Halted

By Henry Gitano

FEB. 18—Ninety-seven Southern Negro leaders wired President Eisenhower, Feb. 14, that they would organize a mass march on Washington if he maintains his silence

about the white-supremacist reign of terror in the South. The 97, who are spokesmen of Negro communities in 10 Southern states met in New Orleans last week in a two-day Southern Negro Leaders Conference. Referring to the telegram to Eisenhower, Rev. Martin Luther King of Montgomery, Ala., told the press that thousands of Negroes, joined by thousands of whites in both the North and South would go to Washington.

Lashing out at the President's silence the Negro spokesmen de-

capitalists are silent, Dixie terrorists are on the rampage. The president at his last press conference said he could not go South for a statement against racist violence because of his crowded daily agenda. He is currently in Thomasville, Georgia, on a two week golfing-hunting vacation. Washington's indifference to the heroic Southern Negroes whose very lives are in danger throughout the Dixie Terror Belt is being interpreted by racist mobsters as consent.

A massive March On Washington is the answer of the embattled fighters for racial equality. "If you, our President, cannot come South to relieve our harassed people, we shall have to lead our people to you in the capital, to call the nation's attention to the violence and organized terror directed toward men, women and children," said the Feb. 14 telegram sent by the Southern Negro Leaders Conference.

The wires drafted at the conclusion of a two-day session also urged Eisenhower to call a White House conference on the maintenance of law and order. In addition telegrams were sent to US Atty. Gen. Herbert Brownell, asking him to meet with Negro leaders and U.S. district attorneys to discuss "continued violence in the South." Vice-President Nixon was asked to make a report on the South similar to the one he made on Hungary.



EISENHOWER

clared that "our people though resolute and courageous, cannot be expected to be targets for rifles, shotguns and bombs, particularly when our women and children are brought within range of these deadly weapons."

As the Negro leaders wired Eisenhower that they are faced with what appears to be an organized campaign of terror and violence, a dynamite explosion in the heart of the Negro section of Clinton, Tenn., injured a woman and baby and damaged 30 homes. It wrecked a restaurant, caving in its ceiling and walls. Police, who said the blast shook most of the town's 4,000 population, also said they have made no arrests.

KASPER IN CLINTON

This is the eighth bombing since Clinton's school integration last fall. Last week, John Kasper, rabid White Citizens Council agitator broke ground for a new \$20,000 headquarters in Clinton, Tennessee, and addressed 188 racist followers in the county courthouse with official permission.

A 14 year old interracial, religious communal farm, Koinonia in Americus, Georgia, has been dynamited, burned and shot at, destroying \$13,000 worth of property. Now attempts are being made on the lives of these Negro and white farmers. On Jan. 29, a bullet was fired at the car in which their watchman was sitting, narrowly missing his head. An overnight visitor was awakened with a shot through his hat beside his bed. On Feb. 1, twelve blasts were fired into the main cluster of residences by shotguns from two cars; some of the children were sprinkled with shot. On Feb. 9, just before midnight, a wooden cross was burned in front of a Negro worker's home.

In Georgia, the State Senate adopted a resolution declaring the 14th and 15th Amendments null and void. Copies of the resolution were sent to Eisenhower, the Chief Justice and Congressmen. The amendments under racist attack, forbid states to "deprive any person of life, liberty or property except by due process of law" and assert that no person shall be deprived of "the right to vote because of race, color or previous condition of servitude." The Georgia legislature has a resolution requesting the impeachment of six U.S. Supreme Court justices.

While Eisenhower and other

Labor Must Build Own Party, Says Ford Local 600

DETROIT, FEB. 16—Two important actions were voted almost unanimously last Sunday by the General Council of Ford Local 600, United Auto Workers. One was the call for the formation of a new political party based on the labor movement; the other was the unequivocal backing of a prominent witch-hunt victim.

The actions were proposed in a report on behalf of the local's officers presented to the General Council by President Carl Stellato. The resolution on political action, after tracing the results of past support of the Democratic Party, called upon the coming international convention of the UAW to start the ball rolling toward formation of a farmer-labor party in the United States. The resolution further urged "that in the interim the UAW take the leadership in undertaking, wherever feasible, in the various state, county and municipal elections to sponsor labor candidates, who will run independently of either the Republican or Democratic Parties."

In another part of his report, Stellato called the union's attention to the case of Arthur McPhaul, former state secretary of the now defunct Civil Rights Congress, who was recently convicted of "contempt of Congress" and is now awaiting a prison term because he courageously refused to furnish CRC membership lists to a Congressional witch-hunt committee.

Defending McPhaul's right to refuse membership lists under such circumstances, Stellato declared it to be labor's duty to give support to all who are victimized for upholding the American people's democratic rights. He urged Local 600's unit chairmen to cooperate with McPhaul in the efforts to win a reversal of the conviction in the courts.

The witch-hunt victim was given the floor to address the meeting. McPhaul explained how the issues and principles at stake in this fight coincide with the interests of the labor movement as a whole.

The resolution for a Farmer-labor party in the United States (Continued on page 4)

Oil Cartels Cut Supply to Europe for Profit Grab

By Vincent Copeland

It used to be said that Warren G. Harding's administration in the 1920's was "soaked in oil." But the modern oil lobby, the oil banks and their friends, have drenched the present administration in the stench of oil profits even more effectively (although so far without a Teapot Dome scandal) than they did the "Harding gang."

In those ancient days of 1920-21, it was merely a matter of stealing lush oil lands from the American people. Today, the stealing of oil reserves goes on, to be sure. But that is only petty larceny. For now a few giant oil companies own so much, and they are so brazen, that they arbitrarily close or open the oil valves of nearly the whole world—depending upon what's in it for them.

"FREE ENTERPRISE"

Only a few months ago, during the Suez crisis, but before the actual blockade of the canal, we were told by sober and scientific authorities that U.S. oil produc-

tion could very easily take care of the needs of Europe for a few months in case the canal should be closed. References were made to the great resources of Texas and to the controlled and drastically reduced flow of oil in Texas wells that could be stepped up considerably, merely by turning the valves.

But this has not happened. The U.S. Departments of State, Defense and Interior, all immediately concerned in the matter, refuse to put any pressure on the oil companies to supply more oil. Eisenhower says that this "is not the American way of doing things."

In the meantime, oil production in Texas was actually reduced instead of increased. What did go up was prices. Europe is crying for crude oil. It is receiving only 65% of its needs. And besides paying the higher American price, it is forced to buy huge quantities of much higher-priced gasoline from American suppliers in order to get any crude at all. (Europe has its own refineries which are now partially closed with consequent unemployment.) The American consumer is high-jacked for a gaso-

line and fuel oil price increases on grounds of the "Mideast crisis" and the artificial but highly propagandized "shortage."

Supposedly to meet the crisis, the Eisenhower Administration set up a Middle East Emergency Committee. This committee is not composed of any government representatives, and is in reality a barrier to any real government committee being set up. The committee consists solely of the representatives of the 15 major oil companies. The committee's

chairman is Stewart Coleman, vice-president of Standard Oil Co. of New Jersey (largest of American oil companies, and probably the biggest and wealthiest corporation in the world).

TEXAS RAILROAD CO.

The government has of course, politely asked the oil companies to increase production. But the companies have not even bothered to reply. (Were the oil workers to go on strike in the present crisis, they could legally be

forced to produce on the grounds of the "emergency.")

The oil companies have an additional legal personality to aid their stand besides the "committee" so obligingly set up by the government. This is the Texas Railroad Company. This company has the full power to regulate the flow of oil in Texas wells. It has refused to allow an increase of oil production. The Eisenhower Administration isn't doing anything about this, either. To challenge the Texas Railroad

Company's action is to challenge "states' rights," is the government's contention.

The conduct of the oil monopolies has led Senator Matthew M. Neely (D-W. Va.), a member of the anti-trust and public lands Committee to charge that "The oil lobby appears to be more powerful than the President, the Congress, and the People." He strongly implied that the major oil companies were a "super government."

What worries Neely and a number of his colleagues is how the oil companies' hold-up will affect "national defense"—that is, U.S. "Big Business" preparations for World War III. Higher gasoline prices for working people here or unemployment and strict gas rationing for working people in Europe is not his concern.

Just the same Neely's indictment of the oil monopolies should be heeded. The labor movement's program to smash the "super government" of the oil corporations should be a demand for nationalization of the oil industry under control of the oil workers' union.

Zacharias Chafee - Civil Liberties Defender

Zacharias Chafee Jr., veteran champion of civil liberties, died in Boston on Feb. 8 at the age of 71. Chafee joined the faculty of the Harvard Law School in 1916 and was an active proponent until last year. Throughout his long career he was known to the public as an unwavering defender of the Bill of Rights. For his participation in cases involving civil liberties he never accepted any

payment. Moreover, his tongue and pen were at the disposal of those fighting civil liberties cases or opposing the passage of legislation limiting the political freedom of the American people.

Not unnaturally, he was long a target for the House Un-American Activities Committee and for Senator McCarthy who in 1952 called him "dangerous" to the United States.

Since the last decade of his life coincided with the witch hunt, much of his writing consists of devastating analyses of the loyalty purge, the McCarran Act, and similar repressive laws. Of these he wrote: "To punish men drastically who have done nothing wrong merely for fear they might do something wrong. Such a practice is wholly alien to the traditions of English-speaking freedom."

Comments on SWP Regroupment Stand

(The following letter is in response to our invitation for comment on the statement of the National Committee of the Socialist Workers Party on the regroupment of revolutionary socialist forces in the U.S. which we published in our issue of Feb. 11. Further comment on the statement by organizations and individuals is invited. — Editor.)

Editor, the Militant:

Feb. 13, 1957

The statement of the National Committee of the SWP on "A Programmatic Basis for Unity Discussions" represents a serious and valuable contribution to the process of regroupment of the socialist left now underway in America. The 12 points listed call attention to the most important political problems facing American radicals, and can serve as a focus for a fruitful and loyal discussion. However, there is a danger that unless concrete steps are soon taken to regroup the forces of American socialism in the field of real action, our discussions of the politics of regroupment, however interesting, will merely remain on paper. Specifically, I suggest that all the existing left-socialist groups and publications get together to form a Committee of United Action for Workers Democracy. (The title is just a suggestion.) The amount of political agreement required to form such a committee could be quite minimal — about the only political prerequisite I would like to see laid down is support of all freedom struggles of workers and oppressed peoples, whether in Hungary, Algeria or Montgomery, Alabama.

The benefits to our socialist cause from the formation of such a committee would be real, immediate, and tangible. For instance, during the past week the UN has been discussing the "Algerian situation" (diplomatic double-talk for the French genocidal murder of the Algerian freedom fighters). A united committee of the American left would have been able to organize a big demonstration of solidarity with the Algerian people and condemnation of French imperialism — a demonstration which could have given tremendous encouragement to the genuine democratic and socialist forces in France as well as to the people of Algeria, at a moment when U.S. imperialism was lining up 100% with its French brother. Many similar opportunities are sure to arise in the coming months. The American socialist movement can use these opportunities if it is prepared to act unitedly, but will probably lose them if it remains split apart, no matter how much fine talk of "regroupment" is floating around.

The committee I propose could perform other important functions beside the central one of united action. It could, for instance, publish a magazine in which the various tendencies could present their ideas. At present, the discussion of regroupment is hampered by the fact that the adherents of each viewpoint tend to read only the publications in which their own position is presented. But a common publication in which a free and honest discussion is conducted would eliminate this difficulty and enormously facilitate a genuine interchange of ideas. This committee would be the natural sponsor for forums on political problems of socialist regroupment throughout the country. It would also co-ordinate political action in support of socialist candidates whenever election campaigns take place.

But most important for the achievement of genuine socialist regroupment: members of the dispersed and isolated socialist groups of today have to work together to achieve their common aims before they will have real confidence in each other's integrity as socialists and willingness to learn from each other and from shared experiences. And without this confidence, even a fruitful discussion of regroupment is virtually impossible.

Shane Mage

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Kadar's Death Penalty for Striking

By Myra Tanner Weiss

George Morris undertook the shameful job in the Feb. 15 issue of the Daily Worker of defending the death penalty for strikers decreed by the Kadar regime in Hungary. His defense of the decree, as is usual in such matters, begins with an attempt to deny its real nature.

Morris states that the "decree has been falsely described in the commercial press as providing a death penalty for 'strikers.'" He calls attention to a translation of the text published in the Daily Worker and says it is "an anti-sabotage decree. We have a bushel full of such PEACETIME legislation on the statute books, some of which the trade union leaders of America protested for fear that certain union activities could draw penalties up to death or long imprisonment. More such legislation is pending. But we have no revolutionary situation or a state of armed rebellion, and we have had nothing of the sort since the Civil War."

U.S. LAWS

Morris here implies that the crime of these laws in the U.S. is only one of timing. They are justified in time of upheaval but not in time of PEACE. The labor-haters will quite agree with Morris and hasten to assure him that the laws are intended only for such "rebellious" emergencies.

However, the text of the Hungarian decree as translated by Herbert Aptheker and published in the Daily Worker, Jan. 28, gives the lie to George Morris. The truth is that the so-called "sabotage" laws in the U.S. are mild and cautious compared to that passed by the Presidential Council of Hungary for the Regulation of Summary Penal Procedure. The U.S. capitalists, as yet, have to be careful for they confront a powerful and undefeated labor movement.

First, let us look at the Trucks Act, passed in the Michigan legislature in 1952 which should serve as a good example of the "sabotage" laws that were produced by the witch hunt in this country. The "sabotage" section of the law reads: "It shall be a felony, punishable by a term in the state prison for not more than 20 years for any person, with the intent to injure the United States, the state of Michigan, or any facilities or property used for national defense, to sabotage or destroy, or to attempt to sabotage or destroy, any property, facility or service that is being used in connection with national defense."

The labor movement understood correctly that the vague formulation of "intent" was enough to enable the labor-haters to use the law against strikers even though strikes were not specifically named as an "injury" to property, facilities, etc. The law was therefore attacked as a repressive anti-labor instrument in the hands of the bosses.

LAW INCLUDES STRIKERS

Now turning to the text of the Kadar "anti-sabotage" law, as Morris insists it should be called, we see the following: First, the penalty: "Sentence in cases tried under this decree may be death. The court, under given conditions may mete out, instead of the death sentence, life sentence, or a sentence ranging from five to 15 years imprisonment."

In Section 1 of the decree the following "crimes" are listed: "(f) ... the purposeful damaging of any water, gas and electric utility, or of any plant which furnishes vital supplies and which has been declared essential for public welfare, or the purposeful damaging of any plant essential for the national defense; or the purposeful disturbance of the op-

Hungarian Refugees Correct the Press

Additional confirmation of the socialist content of the Hungarian revolution is contained in a Belgrade dispatch to the Feb. 2 issue of the Nation. John O'Kearney writes on the distortion of interviews with refugees in the American press and explains: "Hungarian sources here say the corruption lies in the Western abuse of the term 'anti-Communist' as an all-inclusive description of revolutionary forces. The clear truth, they say, is that the vanguard and main body of the rebellion were formed of intellectuals and workers who were more Marxist, more Socialist than the regime; of men who were 'real Communists' by and large, according to accounts I have gathered, the revolution was fought by men and women who even today would elect to keep their socialist state — with its nationalized mines and distributed lands — demanding only a democratic right to run the state for themselves."

Sauce for the Goose



Pictured here are some of the 600,000 steel workers in the U.S. during their 1955 nationwide strike. They were using their primary weapon for defense of their interests. Those who recognize the working class as the only force capable of leading the march to socialism will uphold this basic right of the workers in every land, whether capitalist or non-capitalist.

eration of such plants by illegal entry or any other way, or inciting to the commission of such act; however all acts enumerated in this subsection are applicable only to such cases which the purpose sought was mass work interference (or stoppage).

"(g) Purposeful endangering of the public transportation system.

"(h) Organizing against the People's Republic or the democratic order.

"(i) Actual rebellion.

"(j) Disloyalty."

Thus we see that it is not necessary for the Kadar government to prove that an actual "mass work interference (or stoppage)" took place. It is enough that a strike was the "purpose."

Morris asks, "How can anyone deny the Hungarian government a right to take measures in the midst of a life and death struggle while silently accepting such legislation in a capitalist land that faces no internal threat?"

Revolutionary socialists certainly do not accept silently "such legislation" in a capitalist land whether it faces an internal "threat" or not. They would not accept "such legislation" anywhere. The workers have a right to strike against any government. Any government which seeks to keep itself in power by denying this right, only demonstrates its historic doom.

George Morris defends the death penalty for strikers because he believes the Kadar gov-

ernment is a "workers' and peasants government." Is it so difficult for him to remember that he had been defending Stalin's executions of "traitors, spies and counter-revolutionists" on the same basis — only to learn about a year ago that these "counter-revolutionists" were innocent, frame-up victims of Stalin's murder machine?

The science of Marxism may be considered by many as very complex — and certainly is for beginners. But there is one very elementary aspect of Marxism that almost anyone in the working class can understand. That is the right of the workers to strike. A Marxist defends that right because the workers, as a class, are the progressive force

in history. That does not mean every strike is automatically good and must be supported. A strike to prevent employment of Negroes by backward and prejudiced workers, for example, would be condemned. The workers have been and can be wrong. But their right to strike is fundamental to freedom and progress. Anyone, or any government that would deny this right only reveals its anti-working class character.

BASIC WEAPON

The working class is the exploited class, the indispensable class, the productive class. Its right to strike is a means for intervening decisively in defense of its living standards and its freedom. If a "socialist" state gives the workers reason to strike, then something is wrong with that state. And even George Morris should know by now, after being told by Khrushchev, that something is wrong in the Soviet orbit.

The fact that the bureaucratic caste in the Soviet Union destroyed the right of the workers to strike not only enslaved the workers; it also had a very detrimental effect on the development of the planned economy.

A great impulsion toward technological progress under capitalism has been and is still provided by the right of the workers to strike. When the workers can protect their living standards, the capitalists are compelled to increase their rate of profit through the more expensive methods of improved mechanization rather than an increase in working hours, intensity of labor or a squeeze on wages. The post-World War II development of automation in the United States was largely conditioned

on the striking power of the labor movement. Soviet planned economy, won in the Revolution of 1917, made possible the industrialization of Russia. But the subsequent growth of the bureaucracy and its repression of the Soviet workers resulted in the tendency to increase production through lengthening working hours, intensification of the labor process (Stakhanovism), and low wages. In this way industrialization was actually slowed.

The victory of the political revolution in the Soviet orbit, the liberation of the working class, will yield a great new leap in production and ultimately in the productivity of labor.

In defending the repression of the working class in Hungary, Morris puts himself in such a position that he half-apologizes for anti-labor legislation in the United States. He argues, would labor leaders "favor a union cover-up to wreckers and dynamiters who infiltrate an American union and use it? It is well known how gangsters, racketeers and an assortment of crooks use the American trade union movement."

The proponents of these anti-labor laws used the same argument. Then Morris says "what's good for the goose should be good for the gander." The repressive laws of the capitalist class are used to justify the repressive laws in Hungary. Then doesn't that also work backwards? Don't the repressive laws in Hungary justify the repression of the American workers?

With this kind of logic it is easy to see how the defense of the bureaucratic caste in the Soviet orbit leads inevitably to anti-working-class politics everywhere.

... CP Convention Paves Way

(Continued from page 1)

advice" of the Duclos letter. It also refused his demand for a purge of the leadership contained in his declaration that the party was suffering from "a grave crisis of leadership" which "has done more to disorient the party than the government attack on us."

Thus the convention gave expression to the deep-seated desire of the membership to win the right to chart the political course of the party without external dictation or internal bureaucratic repression. At the same time the delegates would not give control of the party to any section of the leadership. The convention closed with unity declarations by all of the top leaders, but the division among them continues. The newly-elected members-at-large of the National Committee established an eleven-member secretariat based solely on New York residence and did not even attempt to elect party officers. In the election of the remaining 40 members of the national committee by the state conventions, the same pattern of division will probably prevail.

The convention outcome means that the discussion in the party will continue. At the same time the prospects for the continuing exchange of views with other radical tendencies remain good. The party membership wants such a discussion and those in the leadership who would block such discussion are not in a position to do so.

ISSUES UNRESOLVED

The primary impetus for a deepening of the discussion stems from the fact that all of the basic political issues confronting the party remain unresolved, including those issues which the convention tried to resolve and those it avoided. The adopted draft resolution will fare badly against the test of events. Its central thesis has already been shaken by world developments. The Suez crisis and the declaration of the Eisenhower doctrine underscore the fact that the resolution's prognosis of a

"durable" era of peaceful co-existence has little relation to reality. The party membership will have to reconsider the draft resolution's rejection of the Leninist thesis as "obsolete." That thesis maintains that the war-makers will be restrained and defeated only by the revolutionary class struggle of the workers and colonial peoples of the world.

Convention endorsement of support to the Democratic party and to the official leaders of the labor, liberal and Negro movements cannot serve the declared intention of ending the party's isolation from the advanced sections of the ranks of labor or the Negro people.

The stunning setback suffered by McDonald in the steel union elections dramatically reveals the strong opposition in the union ranks to his bureaucratic machine. In the days ahead, the Reuthers and Dubinsky, who stand on the same basic program as McDonald, will encounter similar opposition. The CP convention resolution which pledges them "cooperation" will not alter this inevitable process.

PROBLEM OF STALINISM

The convention declared for a major campaign to win support in the ranks of the Negro movement. The recent presidential election demonstrates that CP support of the Democrats will be greeted with little sympathy by militant fighters against Jim Crow.

Equally decisive in the period ahead will be the great issues which the convention did not even attempt to cope with. The equilibrium of the Communist Party was shattered from top to bottom by Khrushchev's destruction of the Stalinist myth. But the party leadership has avoided any serious analysis of the real meaning and the social roots of Stalinism.

This question cannot be postponed. In whose interests did Stalin smash Soviet democracy? Why did he abandon Lenin's political program? These are not matters of academic historical interest. Stalin is dead but Khrushchev is very much alive, and reeking of anti-Semitism and Great-Russian chauvinism.

WHAT LIES AHEAD

The Hungarian revolution for national independence and workers' democracy was the flash-lightening of mass opposition to continuing Stalinist policies. Polish working-class struggle and resistiveness among Soviet workers and students, subordinate the fact of a rising revolutionary opposition to the privileged bureaucracy. Stalinist oppression has given rise to the political revolution of the masses of the Soviet Union and East Europe — a revolution that will restore Soviet democracy.

This irrepressible historic development will have its repercussions in the Communist parties of the world as already demonstrated by the Hungarian revolution. The convention's assertion of political independence paves the road for a thoroughgoing discussion of these issues. Such a discussion will strengthen those forces within the party which seek a revolutionary socialist solution to the present crisis.

Three Indicted On Gov't Charges Of Soviet Espionage

The three persons arrested in the government's latest "Soviet spy" case were imprisoned without bail, Feb. 13, after pleading not guilty to charges of conspiracy to violate the espionage law. They are Jack Sobel, his wife Myra and Jacob Albam. Arrested by FBI agents Jan. 25, they have been indicted under the peacetime espionage act of 1954 which provides a maximum penalty of death.

Presiding Federal Judge Noonan agreed to a defense request that no bail be set at this time. U.S. Attorney Williams requested that bail be set at \$100,000 each. Defense characterized the proposed bail as excessive and asked that it be given further time to study the government brief before making its own bail request.

Commenting on the prosecution argument that such excessive bail was necessary to prevent the accused from fleeing to the Soviet Union, Judge Noonan observed that "if the USSR should be interested in their absconding, \$100,000 would not hinder or stand in the way."

The government charges that the defendants were paid by the Soviet Union to collect and transmit national security information. A March 11 date has been set to hear further motions and set a trial date.

Meanwhile defendant Jack Sobel collapsed in his prison cell Feb. 18, and prison officials announced he had suffered "a slight heart attack."

Although the story of the "spies" arrest was splashed across the front pages of most New York dailies, the story of the arraignment was buried in the back pages of all the papers.

Boyhood Fantasy Comes True

By V. Grey

Boyhood memories are mostly about the time you fell through the ice at the skating pond, or the time you started to run away from home, and things like that.

Well I remember all those things, all right. But I also remember sitting on the front porch steps with the other fellows on summer evenings, and having long, exciting, although usually aimless talks. I can't for the life of me remember just what we said (although I'm sure we took up all the problems from baseball to the universe) — except for once.

It was around 1928 or 1929. And I'm sure I would have forgotten this conversation just like all the others, except for something that happened many years later — in 1945, and then something that happened last week.

On the particular summer night in question one of the fellows told us about a remarkable story he had read in Popular Mechanics Magazine. "Did you know," he asked us, "that there is enough internal energy in a cubic inch of copper to drive a railroad train around the world without any coal?"

We didn't. But it was certainly something to talk about. So we went on all evening, and figured how many cubic inches of copper it would take to power a space ship to the moon, and things like that. We weren't exactly statesmen of the arts of peace in those bloodthirsty boyhood days. But it didn't occur to any of us, any more than it occurred to Popular Mechanics Magazine at that time — that this wonderful energy would be anything but constructive and helpful to mankind.

When they dropped the atomic bomb on Hiroshima in 1945 I suddenly remembered that front porch conversation 16 years or so before. And I thought Popular Mechanics hadn't hit things exactly on the nose, but here it was, nevertheless, — enough energy to take a trainload of people to the moon. But it was being used to send a hundred thousand people to Kingdom Come instead. And I thought, — well, maybe this Uranium 235 was only good for bombs, and they just hadn't got around to that copper cube idea.

But I was wrong. Last week the submarine, "Nautilus" finished a trip equal to two and three quarters times around the world without refueling once. Do you know how much fuel oil she would have used in a regular engine? 720,000 gallons, 90 railway tank cars full. Instead, she used Uranium 235. The total amount of it for the whole trip was about the size of a golf ball. The scientists say that some of it was wasted, too.

Of course a submarine isn't a pleasure boat. But the Nautilus' trip sure proves that non-military ships and trains could do the same thing. Good old Popular Mechanics was right.

Now, all those brainy scientists of thirty, forty and fifty years ago who started this atomic-energy business never intended it to blow up the human race. They were thinking like us kids were, of all the wonderful things you could do. But here the scientists are today, making atomic bombs, hydrogen bombs, guided missiles and intercontinental atomic war-head rockets!

If we can just defeat the Big Business war-makers, get all the world together and take those smart scientists off those jobs and put them on building things instead of blowing them up, we'll have it pretty wonderful. As the boys on the front porch would say nowadays, "Life would be a dreamboat."

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Two Views on CP Convention

The New York Times editors were pleased, Feb. 14, that a measure of independence from the Kremlin was shown by the Communist Party convention. They quoted the convention's declaration for the "right of friendly criticism of brother parties or the action of socialist governments" and accepted this as a shift toward independence — however "inadequate."

For a more "adequate" show of independence the Times editors recommend that the Communist Party renounce Marxism-Leninism. And although they have not said so explicitly as yet, they undoubtedly would also like the Communist Party to line up with U.S. imperialism's plans for world conquest.

Revolutionary socialists also welcomed a manifestation by the CP convention of independence from Kremlin dictation — but for just the opposite reason. A break with the politics of the Soviet bureaucracy will allow Communist militants to elaborate a genuine Marxist-Leninist program.

For the Kremlin's ideology, though called "Marxist-Leninist" doesn't bear the faintest resemblance to the liberating theories of Marx and Lenin. The policies of the Kremlin stem from the needs of a privileged bureaucracy to repress the working class at home. They consist in attempts to bargain with the imperialist powers for preservation of the status-quo throughout the world.

The capitalist class in the U. S. had no difficulty in collaborating with the Kremlin when Stalin was framing up and executing his revolutionary opponents in the Soviet Union. They did not demand that the American CP be independent of the Kremlin then. Nor did they make the demand during World War II, when at Stalin's orders the American CP became the noisiest jingoists in the labor movement.

In those days, propagandists for American imperialism even painted Stalin as a hero in the "war for democracy." The Kremlin's dictatorial practices became a target for condemnation only when American imperialism launched the cold war against the Soviet orbit.

Then the imperialist propagandists proceeded to lump together Stalinism and Marxism-Leninism in order to put the stigma of Stalin's crimes on genuine Marxists and Leninists. They hoped thereby, to discredit socialist opposition to Big Business' exploitative rule.

The discussion that is now developing in the ranks of the Communist Party will not, in the long run, give any pleasure to the N. Y. Times editors or other proponents of capitalism. As they break with Kremlin domination, militant workers and youth in the CP have already begun to distinguish between Stalinism and Leninism. When that process is completed the opposition to U. S. imperialism will be strengthened.

Anti-Semitism in Poland

An exodus of Jews from Poland is taking place. It is reported that passport applications by Jewish Poles have already passed the 25,000 mark. The total Jewish population of the country is estimated at between 35,000 and 70,000. This is all that remains of the pre-war Jewish community of 3,500,000 after World War II and the bestiality of the Nazi conquerors.

The hatred of Hitlerism based on the Polish people's own experience with being treated as second-class human beings and the replacement of Polish capitalism and landlordism with an economic system similar to that in the Soviet Union has not prevented a resurgence of barbarous anti-Semitism. Why?

Anti-Semitism is a bitter legacy from Poland's past. The pre-war regime of capitalists and landlords had no quarrel with Hitler over anti-Semitism. They antedated Hitler on this score and anti-Semitism ran deep in the fabric of semi-feudal Polish capitalism.

The change in Poland's social system was brought about not by a revolution but by the military-bureaucratic power of the Kremlin. This meant that the tremendous therapeutic and educational experience against anti-Semitism and every other form of reaction that a socialist revolution embodies was denied the Polish people. Instead Poland became a deformed workers' state carrying over from its past a much heavier load of backwardness than necessary. And piled on this were all the cynical vices of the puppets imposed by the bureaucracy of the degenerated workers' state in the USSR.

For the degeneration in the USSR had gone so far that anti-Semitism, almost eradicated by the Russian Revolution, was being nurtured by Stalin. Once again a bankrupt ruling stratum was employing the age-old historical trick of making the Jews a scapegoat for its own crimes.

The anti-Semitism of the present ruling clique in the Kremlin and of the pro-Kremlin section of the Polish Communist Party is nakedly clear. During the October days when the Gomulka supporters

forced a measure of independence for Poland, Khrushchev lashed out at them as agents of U.S. imperialism and of Zionism, a reversion to the language of the Slansky trial. So permeated with anti-Semitism are Stalin's heirs, that even in an interview with a Canadian Communist Party leader in which he was denying anti-Semitism, Khrushchev betrays the crudest anti-Semitism. Among his charges against Soviet Jews was the allegation that in one section they had not promptly cleaned their streets, that they built too many synagogues, etc.

Direct incitement to violence against Jews is but another crime of the Natolin clique in the Polish CP. This Stalinist or pro-Kremlin group tried by propaganda means to place the blame for Poland's low living standards on the Jews. It has covertly encouraged the current outbursts of terror which anti-Kremlin Communist leaders in Poland describe as "raving anti-Semitism."

In the face of the resurgence of the dark and medieval passions of anti-Semitism the left-wing of Gomulka's supporters have demanded a vigorous campaign against anti-Semitism. This must be done not only for the Jews but for the safety and advancement of the Polish Revolution. There is no question but that the interests of the Polish Jews lies with the Polish people in their struggle for independence and workers' democracy. At the same time Jews in Poland who have witnessed too many massacres of their kinfolk have the right to judge for themselves whether they wish to stay in Poland or not. In contrast to Stalinist policy, the Gomulka regime is freely granting exit visas.

It is incumbent on Polish revolutionaries to fight anti-Semitism intransigently for the benefit of those Jews who choose to remain in Poland and so that those forced into exile may safely return at a later date if they so desire. This is an integral part of the struggle against the two hostile forces that confront the Polish revolution—the capitalist and landlord restorationists and the Kremlin bureaucracy and its puppets.

German Capital Expands With U. S. Help

By John Black

The industrialists and financiers of West Germany, essentially the same group of men that backed Hitler in his attempt to organize the world for them, are now in the process of emerging as chief ally and main partner of U.S. capitalism in a joint plan to achieve the same aims.

To a very considerable extent the hegemony of German capital in Europe has already been achieved. Should the present discussions for some kind of European economic unification produce concrete results, any formal plan would only underline this fact. West Germany is today the most reliable and powerful capitalist anchor in Europe.

BASIS FOR COMEBACK

Hard hit by the phenomenal resurgence of the West German capitalists are the French and British industrialists. West Germany has out-produced, out-invested and out-exported them. Even the traditionally French markets in Switzerland, Belgium and the Netherlands are being lost and an increasing struggle places the French margin in Italy and Spain in doubt. Britain faces similar dim prospects.

Paradoxically, it was the post-war policy of de-concentration and democratization of the West German trusts by the victorious allies which placed enormous capital resources in the hands of the German magnates. U.S. high Commissioner McCloy rescinded the outright confiscation order against German industrialist war criminals. This made it mandatory that the forced sale of certain branches of the trusts would be accompanied by full payment. On the day of the forced sale the Krupps became the richest family in Europe and Friedrich Flick, another Hitler backer, received \$31 million for some of his holdings. It was with the help of such sums of ready cash that reconstruction of the economic empire was made possible.

U.S. policy and aid (\$9 billion in W. Germany and only \$5 billion in France), the coldwar against the Soviet bloc, the outbreak of the Korean war, the requirements of NATO and the favorable industrial and resource structure of the country itself, contributed to the upsurge in West Germany. Drastic post-war currency reforms wiped out small business competition internally and the heavy influx of refugees from former German-held territories provided cheap labor.

By the beginning of this year the triumphant West German monopolists were ready to embark on the next stage in their plans. Both Britain and France have been seriously weakened

economically and compromised politically in the wake of the Suez debacle. Inversely, Germany plays an increasingly vital role in the NATO alliance. West Germany is now ready to step up its drive for the necessary world markets. The significantly new feature is the open partnership with U.S. business in this venture. The German capitalists succeeded in the past few years in laying a solid groundwork.

German airlines began operations in April 1955. Since then, the Luftthansa has more than doubled its air fleet and is today weaving a network to Latin and North America, Japan and the Middle East. It is now thrusting into new markets in the air transport field.

Blöhm & Voss Shipbuilding Works in Hamburg, partially dismantled as a war potential in the immediate post-war period, is bigger than ever and is launching a record passenger, transport and tanker fleet. Already in 1955 the export of German-built ships exceeded that of British.

Ever since the 1954 Latin American tour by Ludwig Ehrhard, Bonn's Minister of Economic Affairs, penetration of this key market has gone forward on a considerable scale. For example, Europe's largest producer of electrical equipment, Siemens & Halske A.G., by 1951 had begun to export equipment and installations of considerable magnitude to South America. Sister companies of this concern exist in most South American countries today. The contract with the nationalized Argentinian Telephone company is one of the largest that country has signed with a foreign concern. Siemens has undertaken to build a manufacturing unit for telephone equipment in Argentina that will make it independent of foreign supply in that field. Huge contracts for telephone installations and supplies in Venezuela followed thereafter. In Nicaragua, Siemens secured the contract with the War Ministry in competition with the U.S. General Electric Corporation, despite the fact that the country is dominated by U.S. finance capital.

On Aug. 2, 1956 the Chilean Government signed a preliminary agreement with the Krupp interests for establishment of large shipbuilding and Diesel motor factories in Chile.

Siemens has also penetrated into Asia. Afghanistan has Siemens installations British interests in India have been pushed to the wall by it in the electrical manufacturing field. Siemens is part owner of the Japanese electrical manufacturing concern, Fuji Denki Seizo, K. K., and has other interests in that country.

While President Sukarno of Indonesia was sightseeing in the

United States last Fall, a delegation of West German industrialists negotiated in Indonesia for participation in Indonesian industry. The terms would give West Germany 40 to 50% of all outstanding shares for their capital investment, management and technical know-how. The same delegation visited India, Pakistan, Burma, Japan and Thailand.

MIDDLE EAST

Significant feature of this economic penetration drive is the ability of the West Germans to extend long-term credits and loans to the under-developed countries. This, of course, means that these countries are not only customers and debtors but that they become increasingly tied politically to the resurgent German financiers.

The Middle East has been the target of German capital for decades. During the recent Suez crisis, West German politicians took full advantage of the fact that Germany was unrepresented in the United Nations. The Bonn government was able to avoid taking a formal position on the French-British assault on Egypt. While unhappy over the nationalization plans of Nasser, they let it be known that they condemned their rivals' military venture. On March 14 of this year there will take place in Cairo the opening of the West German Trade Ex-

position. More than 350 West German concerns will take part. It is shaping up as the largest industrial exhibition ever to take place in the Arab world.

The German capitalists' desire to replace their British and French counterparts as the main U.S. partner in world capitalist hegemony is about to be fulfilled.

During the early days of this year, a U.S. delegation of economic experts, including former U.S. Steel President Benjamin Fairless and Jesse Tapp, Chairman of the Board of the Bank of America, visited West Germany. On Jan. 3, the committee was entertained by the top-ranking industrialists and financiers of West Germany at the Industry Club in Düsseldorf. Subsequently the delegation made a special trip to confer with Berthold Beitz, spokesman for the Krupp family concern. Shortly before, Alfred Krupp had submitted a plan for the joint exploitation of under-developed countries to U.S. Assistant Secretary of State Robert Murphy.

ADVANCE GUARD FOR U.S.

The Jan. 16 issue of Spiegel, leading West German news weekly, characterized the results of these discussions as follows: "German concerns, which until now have acted predominantly in pursuit of private interests in

Arab countries, are now to become the advance guard in a political action of the Americans, who want to pacify the Middle East politically and keep it free from the economic influence of the Soviet bloc."

The economic alliance between West German capitalists and U.S. capitalists is viewed by both sides as underpinning the political alliance. While West Germany has had a continuous right-wing capitalist regime since the Occupation, a government headed by Adenauer and representing an alliance of Big Business with clerical reaction, there is at this moment serious doubt that Adenauer and his cohorts will be re-elected in the national election due this Fall. Public opinion polls give the left-of-center Social Democrats a majority of the voters.

The Social Democratic Party leaders, while anxiously seeking the advance approval of the U.S. State Department (Ollenauer, its national chairman is right now in Washington conferring with Secretary of State Dulles), are nonetheless regarded with distrust by finance capitalist circles. The close economic bonds between the capitalists of the two countries, which are now being so rapidly and assiduously cemented, are against any adverse effect of a political upset in West Germany.

Dulles Runs Into Opposition



Secretary of State John Foster Dulles, seen here conferring with Congressman Gordon and Admiral Radford, was rejected, Feb. 18, as proposed leader of forthcoming bi-partisan meeting on Israel's demands for guarantees on the Gaza Strip and the Gulf of Aqaba. Democrats asked for Eisenhower's personal participation.

Our Readers Take the Floor

It Wasn't Funny

Editor:

I work for a "public relations" studio. We print two photostats of each advertisement — a negative and a positive.

One day last week my production manager stopped me and said: "I have a joke. I don't think you will get it, because it is subtle. If you get it I expect you to laugh." We had just finished a poster for a bank advertising travelers' checks. It showed American tourists observing picturesque scenes throughout the world.

On the poster itself the American travelers are white. He jokingly showed me the negative photostat of the same poster and

said: "We are now advertising for a Harlem Bank." When I refused to respond, he asked grudgingly: "Don't you get it?" (On the negative the tourists appeared black.) I got it all right but I didn't think there was anything funny.

Behind what he thought was such a big joke was the grim truth that advertising is strictly Jim Crow. Advertising presents Americans exclusively as whites, except when the ads are directed specifically to the Negro market.

B.D.
New York

Letter From Mississippi

Editor:

The following are sections of several letters a friend in Mississippi sent to me

R.L.
Chicago

Dear Friend

Your letter received and enjoyed so much. Was in bed with arthritis in my whole right side but am doing fine now. I was out working and got caught in a cold rain and was soaked for nearly two hours before I got home. That was the first full day I had worked in 14 months and was not able to go back again. I only made the one day.

There is nothing to do around here at all now and won't be until spring. No enterprise at all. Only one business in town that employs more than three Negroes. I have a hog to kill next week. I hope to be able to farm my own land this next year and get another start at living in the country. Farming is about the easiest work a worn-out person can do. Labor is \$2.00 to \$2.50 a day. Some \$3.00 labor can be had a few days in June. Not enough to live on.

Clinton, Tenn., and the Montgomery case still have the spotlight. Also the Florida Flogging Trial about "Hello, honey." Haven't received a Militant in two weeks. I never did find a reader worth passing along the paper to. All too drunk around here.

Our government can air lift 25,000 refugees from Communist oppression but can't see that 12 native born American Negroes go to school at Clinton. Where is the free America?

Enclosed are some clippings. Just enough to remind you the type of news we have to screen and re-write in our minds to find out a part of what is really happening around us here. Even the radio has a way of fading out when trade unions and Negroes are in for comment.

Enclosing some very interesting editorials and letters on pure "Southernism." I just don't do well during damp weather and we are having lots of it now. A cold drizzle is falling now but I am by a good fire and full. I killed a hog so I have meat and lard. I have five hens laying. My paper is regular now. I don't get any union papers so have to just scrap union news from local papers and the radio. Union work is not so hot in Mississippi only for the white man. This whole state needs educating.

H.J.
Mississippi

Got Seamen's Papers Back

Editor:

Greetings! Another Victory! No thanks to the Commandant of the United States Coast Guard. I am grateful to Capt. Mulzac and the Seamen's Defense Committee for their firm fight. Also to the Militant for backing them. Why? Got my sailing card today but will railroad for a while yet.

F.P.
Los Angeles

Reports On Visit to South

Editor:

On Dec. 26, 1956, I took a trip down South to Alabama. The reason for the trip was to see for myself the condition the Negroes in the South had to live

under. Not only did I want to see the conditions, but try to get first hand the opinions of the Negroes on their recent struggle.

Unfortunately, I did not visit any of the larger cities. But I did speak to many of the Negro families where I was. Some were receptive but a few were not. I also spoke to a few liberal-minded whites.

While there, I distributed some free literature and also sold \$2.35 worth of literature. One of the books was Socialism on Trial. But most of the literature was about Negro equality. I sold and distributed 20 Militants.

R.S.
Cleveland

Regroupment And Hungary

Editor:

All the necessary discussion on left regroupment around a Leninist program has been bogged down by the Hungarian incident. As Lenin taught, the workers'

councils of Hungary demanded all power to the Soviets, as the workers in Russia did in October, 1917. However, the Kremlin bureaucrats, myopic with a dose of neo-Stalinism, reversed Lenin's revolutionary idea. With tanks, guns, and artillery they battled the Hungarian workers in the streets of Budapest. How far to the counter-revolution have they themselves gone? And who are they blaming now? Do they not realize that they hold their seats of power not because they are talented, but because Soviet property forms enable them to sit in power? And these Soviet property forms were created by the revolutionary proletarians, led by Lenin!

What does this augur for a left regroupment? How much credence will anyone give to a person who utters shibboleths (left ones, mind you) and who does the exact opposite? Are the Trotskyists the only communists left in the world today?

G.N.
Winnipeg, Canada

Education of a Workingman

It was in a coal miner's shack, down on old Coos Bay, That my mother brought me forth, one cold December day. This is my story, I swear it is the Gospel truth. She died of overwork, while still within her youth. So bear with me if my rhyme does not follow every rule. As a lad, I went to work, while others went to school. But life itself is a school, and some things I have learned. In the university of life, scholarships are dearly earned. I've sailed upon the ocean, out on the bounding main, And harvested in the Dakotas, gathering in the grain. I've picked their hops and picked their prunes. Walked the picket lines and battled with the goons. I've tramped the highways, and slept out in the cold. And worked deep down in the earth, a-digging for gold. In Washington's forests, mighty monarchs I have felled, And in Frisco's shipyards, they taught me how to weld. In the foundry's heat and dust, my labor has been sold, Where men's blood, runs with molten metal, in the mold. I've helped to bridge the chasms of rushing mountain streams. Hard work, was ever my companion, even in my dreams. I've seen the terror, when racist rowdies raided in the night, And felt the handclasp of a brother, joined in a good fight. I've seen men stand together in the struggle — they did not fail; And I've seen working men and women carted off to jail. Threescore years have come and gone, my youth it has flown, Long years I've labored, others have reaped where I have sown. Life has taught some lessons, so take a tip from me, And build a labor party, be the masters of your destiny. Seattle J. B.

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Montgomery Students Speak

One of the most promising developments in the struggle against segregation in the South today is the educational effect of the struggle itself on the youth.

The whole world has read about the courage of the boys and girls and the young men and women who have bravely run the gauntlet of mobs incited by unbalanced tools of the white supremacists, like John Kasper. Everyone knows of the heroic determination of the students who have been willing to face physical violence, personal abuse and prejudiced school authorities to win the right to equal educational and job opportunities.

The thinking of these young people has been clear from their actions. They are in rebellion against segregation in all its forms.

But the headline stories in the daily papers, while they report interviews with the public officials involved, the leaders of the mass movement, and sometimes the parents, seldom tell us the opinions of the youth themselves.

A very interesting article on this aspect of the struggle appeared in the February 2 issue of one of the most informative Negro weeklies published in Alabama, the Mobile Beacon.

Fred Jenkins, a Beacon writer, reported that the Alabama State College (for Negroes) at Montgomery had been warned by telephone calls that it was going to be bombed before dawn on Sunday, Feb. 6.

DESPITE HELL AND BOMBS

Jenkins visited the campus, and interviewed a number of the students at random, asking each the question: If any buildings on the campus are bombed, will you withdraw from school? Here are the replies, as quoted:

Miss Georgia McFadden, of Mobile: "No, I shall continue to pursue my studies despite, hell, bombings, or the proverbial high water. Tomorrow, the job of obtaining equal citizenship will be my responsibility."

McDonald Opponents Gain Majority in Buffalo Area Vote

By Charles Seaman

BUFFALO, Feb. 18.—The United Steel Workers on the Niagara Frontier poured out of the steel plants on February 12 to vote for the powerful post of International President, the first election of its kind in the twenty-year history of the union.

Unofficial results have made it clear to David J. McDonald, incumbent candidate, that the rank and file in this area are fed up with his "arm-in-arm" policies with management. Although returns from thirty-five USW locals in and around Buffalo has Rarick ahead 8,002 to McDonald's 6,316, steel workers are convinced that Rarick did not get a fair shake at the polls. Militants had showed concern over the voting procedure of using unnumbered paper ballots rather than election machines and they agreed with Rarick who had requested watchers at the polling areas for both candidates to insure an honest election, a request which the McDonald machine denied.

DOUBT McDONALD VOTE

However, these militants questioned Rarick's wisdom in appealing to the U.S. Senate committee "investigating" labor "racketeering." They viewed this move as a slap at the rank and file who have so splendidly supported his movement, because it indicated a feeling on Rarick's part that they are incapable of handling their own affairs.

In the concentrated steel area of Lackawanna, Rarick led McDonald 4,025 to 3,136 in the four locals of the Bethlehem Steel Company, but shop talk among the men was devoted to wondering where McDonald got his support.

Although the ranks were angry and disappointed with the outcome, their morale and spirit was high knowing that their protest vote had struck a heavy blow at the hated McDonald machine. This spirit had carried over from the days prior to the election when the main topic of talk in the plant was strictly union politics and the election. The ranks liked Rarick's proposal of a referendum vote on all convention decisions (having in mind the dues increase and McDonald's salary increase) and especially the idea of rank and file elections for international officers.

This enthusiasm for Rarick and the Dues Protest Movement stayed right up to election day, Feb. 12. Active supporters of Rarick who handed out leaflets were encouraged and praised time and time again by the membership. "Give the union back to the men," was the password of the rank and file as they entered the union hall to cast their vote.

bility. The City of Montgomery furnishes the experience I need to succeed in the dark struggle which lies ahead."

Adolph Meacham, of Tuscaloosa: "No, you can't fight anything by running away. Every available person is needed to aid in this historic struggle for freedom."

Otis Andrews, of Plateau: "No. Education will play a major role in the freedom of Negroes everywhere, and he who runs away now should be banished from the human race."

Marion Clarke, of Mobile: "No, because it would disqualify me from the ranks of those seeking first class citizenship." (Mr. Clarke is a Korean veteran and holder of the Silver Star Medal for gallantry in action.)

MUST STAY IN FIGHT

Harold Rice, of Birmingham: "No, I feel that I am a part of this fight for equal citizenship, and should I run from the heat of battle it would constitute a breach of civic and moral duty."

Leon Truss, of Cropwell: "No, if the people of Montgomery, many of whom are uneducated, have the courage and foresight to fight for equal citizenship, I feel that I must stay, and if possible, dedicate my life and work to them." (Mr. Truss is also a veteran of the Korean war.)

Carl L. Banks, of Woodstock: "No, because it would be playing into the hands of the lawless elements who are trying to terrorize the city. We must stand fast and weather the crisis together."

John E. Jones, of Sumter, S.C.: "No, because the freedom of tomorrow's Negroes depends upon our actions of today."

These comments indicate that the struggle is educating new leaders on a scale the "gradual" methods of almost a century never could. It is educating them by the thousands, too many for the KKK and the White Citizens Councils to stop.

In contrast to this was the way the distributors of the McDonald literature were received. One member who accepted a leaflet spread with the faces of McDonald and his associates stated, "You couldn't pay me \$60 an hour to hand out that poison." McDonald leaflets were crumpled and scattered all around the outside of the plant and a sound truck booming out for McDonald was received with hostility from the ranks.

TURNOUT AT LOCAL 2602

Another important feature of the Lackawanna vote was the role Local 2602 played in support of Rarick, both organizationally and financially. They won an important fight in Lackawanna, successfully bucking the prestige and power of District Director Molony who had given his support to McDonald. This local, the only one of the four in the Lackawanna area to endorse Rarick did an excellent job of getting out their members to vote. They issued leaflets, hired their own hall and supervised their own elections. This paid off. The vote for Rarick was 1,563 to 47 in Local 2602.

Unfortunately, they weakened their cause by not seriously trying to enlist the support of the other three big locals and make an up-and-down the line fight in this important steel area. In the few locals on the Niagara Frontier where Rarick received official union support the vote was all Rarick. Symington Gould Local 1630 went for Rarick 851 to 12 and in Worthington Pump Local 2017 the vote was 510 to 106 in favor of Rarick. This clearly indicates that when the rank and file were organized the McDonald forces were crushed.

TOO MUCH SILENCE

What saved McDonald from an all-out defeat in this area was the fact that only 25 to 30% of the members voted in the election. The fault to a great extent lies in the fact that Rarick didn't make an all-out fight. He made no attack on the steel companies for their continuing speed-up and incentive abuses and stalling tactics in the processing of grievances, which continue to mount. He expressed no opposition to McDonald's policies in relation to the steel companies, notably the recent contract settlement that has saddled the steel workers with a three-year no-strike pledge at a time when steel and other price hikes have wiped out what few gains were made.

At his talk before Local 2602, 25% of those attending were Negro workers who hoped that Rarick would attack the steel companies' nation-wide discriminatory practices in keeping the majority of Negro steel workers

...Ford Local on Labor Party

(Continued from page 1)

Labor-Liberal party adopted by the General Council of Ford Local 600 read in part as follows:

"Whereas: the American labor movement in the recent presidential election has poured forth more money, manpower and time than ever before in the history of organized labor; and

"Whereas: the political voice of labor has on a national scale never been as ineffective as it is today; and

"Whereas: the record of the Democratic Party is not an accidental occurrence, but an inevitable result of the nature of the party. The outcome of the last election, and the reasons for that outcome, prove the contention of Local 600 as set forth in resolution No. 4, introduced at the 14th Convention of the UAW-CIO in 1953 that:

"It has become obvious over the last decade that neither of the

two major political parties, one because of its inability to break with reactionary elements, the other because of its direct ties to the vested interests of Wall Street, can solve the immediate problems of the American people; the problems of taxation, of high cost of living, of job insecurity, of inadequate pensions, of inadequate medical care, of inadequate housing, of civil rights of minority groups; and

"The basic problems of American society, the problems of war and depression have not been solved within the present two-party set-up; and . . . if the UAW had in 1953 acted upon the above-cited resolution and had begun to build a Labor Party, we would today be in a far stronger position than we are; only such a party could win the votes of millions of our Negro brothers and sisters who turned away from the Democratic Party

in justifiable disgust; only such a party could break away from the 'me-too-ism' of the Democratic Party on the question of foreign policy and win support from the millions of Americans who voted for Eisenhower in the mistaken notion that they could thus register their opposition to the foreign policy of the Democratic Party.

Therefore Be It Resolved: That this 16th Convention of the UAW-AFL-CIO, call upon the AFL-CIO to convene in the near future a Congress to which shall be invited delegates of all interested union bodies and representative farm groups and liberal elements, including those from the Republican and Democratic Parties, and which shall have the function of determining a program and setting in motion the mechanics for the establishment of a Farmer-Labor Party in the United States."

Erroll Banks Addresses Negro History Meeting

By Louise Manning

Celebrating Negro History Week at a meeting held on Feb. 8, the Los Angeles branch of the Socialist Workers Party hailed visitors scored by the Negro people in their struggle for equality.

At this meeting, Erroll Banks, the only Negro candidate running for mayor, spoke on the subject: "Negroes and the Two Party System." Running on a socialist platform, and endorsed by the Socialist Workers Party, Mr. Banks showed that no more than Labor, could the Negro find an ally in either the Democratic or Republican Parties. They can turn to the Democratic Party because it is dominated by Southern racists, explained Mr. Banks; nor can they depend on Eisenhower, who was asked by the Negro leaders to place his prestige behind a forceful, public statement backing the Supreme Court decision on desegregation, but who has failed to do so.

Turning to the Labor move-



ERROLL BANKS

ment, as the only friend of the Negro people, Mr. Banks advocated the formation of a Labor Party which would represent the

interests of the great mass of working people and the oppressed racial and national minorities in their united struggle against the common enemy—Big Business.

Speaking on the subject, "The Fight Against Bus Segregation," Grace Bennett related the story of the Freedom Riders in Montgomery and Tallahassee, and told of their determination to settle for nothing less than complete equality.

"The Negro people have found a new method of struggle, the organized boycott," she said, and explained how this advanced the movement against segregation to a higher stage, how it infused new courage in the masses to defy the White Citizens Councils, and how it led to decisive victories.

The audience participated in the discussion at the end of the meeting, and remained afterwards to partake of refreshments and to continue the discussion. A collection of \$46 was contributed to further the Socialist campaign of Erroll Banks.

...STEEL UNION ELECTION

(Continued from page 1)

model "labor statesman" indicated by his comments the significance of the rank-and-file protest vote. "Watching the voting with some uneasiness, reports the Feb. 12 Pittsburgh Post-Gazette, "industry leaders believe that a sizeable vote by the rank-and-file may cause McDonald to cater more to local unions on plant grievances."

The Feb. 25 Newsweek magazine commented, "It looked as if the era of undisputed leadership which Murray and McDonald had created (and which produced a type of responsible union management that the steel industry itself liked) was drawing to a close."

DPC ELECTS

Rarick won a substantial majority in the heart of the industry which is covered by Pittsburgh area Districts 15 and 16, and in at least one other district, the Steubenville area of Ohio. Rarick is leading in the Lorain area of Ohio, though the Dues Protest candidate for international secretary-treasurer, Wil-

liam Klug, is trailing McDonald man, I. W. Abel, in that area. The vote in the Buffalo area was 8,002 for Rarick and 6,316 for McDonald (see Buffalo report on page 4).

In addition the Dues Protest Committee has gained the directorship of district 15 according to unofficial returns. The DPC candidate for director of District 16, Frank O'Brien, was ruled off the ballot just before the election, but is planning court action since the DPC slate otherwise carried the district. Paul Hilbert, DPC candidate for district 15 director, said Feb. 18 that locals in the district had not yet mailed in the election returns and that he plans court action if returns are not sent in for the Feb. 22 deadline. Hilbert leads the McDonald candidate, John Sullivan, by two to one.

"There were threats," reports the Feb. 18 Pittsburgh Post-Gazette, "that if an attempt is made to give Sullivan the majority, they [the DPC] will picket and shut down every plant in the district."

In the New England district, McDonald is reported to have squeaked through by about 600 votes out of 18,000. In the whole New York State District, headed by Joseph Molony who formerly opposed McDonald, but lined up behind him against the dues protesters, McDonald's margin is reported as 3,000 votes out of 37,000. The Cleveland reports give McDonald 15,000 votes to 11,000 for Rarick.

In the Gary, Indiana, area, controlled by a ruthless McDonald machine, the bureaucrats reported Rarick trailing by 35 to one. Rarick's lawyer, James A. Ashton, is preparing court action against alleged vote fraud in the midwest locals.

What were the causes of the resentment against the McDonald machine which produced this unprecedented and unexpected protest vote? The workers in the huge majority felt that the contract was not satisfactory considering the tremendous profits that the steel corporations were raking in.

On top of this, the workers feel the ever-increasing cost of living and the ever-accumulating debts. There is a general feeling of insecurity among the workers, since they all understand that the auto industry, a user of a lot of steel, is not producing very steadily. And they are not satisfied that the union has the neces-

Adam C. Powell Will Intervene In Santana Case

FEB. 19.—N. Y. Congressman, Adam Clayton Powell, according to El Diario, Feb. 7, will intercede on behalf of Frank Santana, a Puerto Rican youth who is now serving a life sentence in prison after being convicted on a second-degree murder charge. Santana's trial and sentence have been declared "unfair" by the prominent psychiatrist, Dr. Frederick Wertham, in the book "The Circle of Guilt."

Dr. Wertham, who had been called by Santana's lawyers to examine the youth, learned that Santana had been threatened by

an anti-Puerto Rican gang and was in fear of attack when he was accosted by William Blankenship, the victim in the shooting. Dr. Wertham also expressed belief that the gun may have been fired accidentally.

Frank Santana never received a fair trial. The newspapers called for a death sentence and for months campaigned in a lynch spirit against the "Puerto Rican hoodlum" who had shot a "model boy."

The Federation of Hispanic Societies and the Council of Hispanic American Organizations in New York have interested themselves in the case of Frank Santana and are seeking a commutation of the sentence from Governor Harriman.

LEGAL LYNCHING

Frank Santana, who was only 17 at the time of the tragedy in the Spring of 1955, was the victim of national prejudice in one of New York's worst slum areas. Dr. Wertham came to the conclusion that Santana's conviction was more of a lynching than a trial. And he explained, "There was a social motive why the community did not want a trial. If it had looked into this boy's mind, it would have to look at itself. . . . It was easier to send the boy away without a trial and let things be as they are."

Dr. Wertham became so convinced of young Santana's innocence that he has offered to make himself personally responsible for the youth's future conduct if he were to be released from prison. The demand for commutation of sentence is receiving wider support in New York City and nationally as the case becomes known.



ADAM C. POWELL

THE MILITANT ARMY

The following are excerpts from a letter that the veteran railroad worker, C. R. Hedlund of Minneapolis recently sent to two of his friends:

"I have arranged to have the Militant sent to your homes for a six-month period. I rate the Militant as the best working-class publication in the United States, and I have been a subscriber to that paper since its first issue in November 1928. Please accept it and read it with my compliments.

"Do you boys stop to reflect on the social mess that this country is in? We have armies, navies and air fields all over the globe; we are spending billions for equipment to kill and destroy. The news commentator, Edward R. Murrow said over the radio last night that 78 cents out of every tax dollar goes for war, past and present. And this insane waste and spending goes on when there isn't a single nation, or group of nations, that have the slightest intention to attack or invade this country if we leave them alone.

"Eisenhower wants standby authority from Congress to rush American troops to the Middle East on a moment's notice. What for? Do you people know of any good reason why American soldiers should be sent there to kill poor Arabs and bomb and pulverize their cities and homes? Do we want to repeat the outrage that the agents of Big Business at Washington committed against the people of Korea? Do we want to spend billions of tax dollars

for such things when we don't seem to have enough money to take care of our blind, sick and needy people here at home? We have one begging campaign after the other for nickels and dimes to finance our worthy and important social needs while the administration at Washington is pouring out billions . . . to prop up bankrupt and reactionary regimes abroad. . . .

"It would be a worthy objective for every working man and woman in this country to line up in support of the socialist movement—a movement which is absolutely necessary for the toiling masses of the world in order to enable them to relegate rotting capitalism to the junk heap of history and thereby make room for its logical successor, a socialist society on a world scale. The benefit and the reward that humanity will reap from this progressive social change is even beyond the full grasp of the most fertile mind. . . .

"Both of you boys have had a rich experience in life. You, Arthur, as a steel worker who has driven rivets in the construction of the Empire State Building in New York and the bridge over the Golden Gate of San Francisco, plus your travels and experience in South America. And you, Conrad, as a lifetime farmer in North Dakota with your long and honorable struggle as member and organizer of the Nonpartisan League to fight the robbery of the milling and elevator combines, the International Harvester as well as the crooked politicians in Bismarck. In the light of this experience, both of you should be well equipped to reap a lot of enjoyment and information by reading . . . the Militant."

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